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factor should never remain unpunished, even though he be of your own kindred; although in the latter case the sacking of his house and properties will usually be sufficient, without having to resort to bloodshed; and then also there will necessarily be no solidarity, except perhaps in the case of his near relatives. An Isneg who allows an injury to pass unpunished has not the blood of the *ménal* (brave) flowing in his veins. Actually of course we cannot always take the law in our own hands, and so we have to resort to the tribunal of the Ibanag. Now you should never fail to do so, whenever there are no other means available for revenging yourself with impunity".

A couple of years ago, an Isneg from Tawit, whose father was supposed to have been killed at Ripang years ago, murdered a Ripang woman at Kabugaw, under the eyes of the constabulary, on the occasion of a garden day celebration. The murder occurred in the evening, when the woman,—who even then was still too young to have had any knowledge of the murder of the Tawit man's father except perhaps from hearsay, and who consequently could not have had the least participation in it,—was sitting as a guest in the house of one of her people, a policeman, who at the time resided at Kabugaw. She was leaning with her back against the wall of the house, when the Tawit man, who stood outside in the dark, pushed a sharpened bamboo rod through the interstices and pierced the woman's side, with the inevitable result that the victim died after a few hours.

Not so long ago our friend *Kadáw* of Lettuakan, who had been badly injured by *Kinagúrān* of Talifugu in the heroic times now seemingly gone forever, one of his hands having been almost totally disabled, came to pay me a visit. He had a few eatables for sale and wanted to get a comparatively large share of the white man's money. At a certain moment our conversation ran in the following vein:

I: *Kinagúrān* is your friend, is he not?

Kadáw: Yes, indeed, we are good friends now.

I: But suppose the soldiers would leave the district.

I had barely finished my sentence when the old headhunter sprang up, his face beaming, his eyes radiant with a fiendish joy, and, swinging his arms, his hands fingering invisible weapons, he exclaimed: "Oh, then you would see some fighting indeed".

"Never pick a quarrel with a friend: such things should be avoided; but in case of somebody wanting to quarrel with you, go ahead. Nobody will keep his peace if he thinks he is right. Would it not be utter cowardice to keep quiet and let the thing go by? No, shut the

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577 slanderer's mouth at all price. 'Keep quiet for the sake of peace',
578 the Ibanag will say. For the sake of peace! What kind of an Isneg
558 is he who knows anything about peace under the circumstances?
Keep quiet, if you cannot do otherwise, all right; but there is more
than one day in a year: try to find an occasion to settle your quarrels,
do not dismiss the matter from your mind until your right has been
recognized. Did you ever meet a coward who became rich or in-
fluential? And he is a coward who would keep silent in a quarrel
when the right is on his side. A few people will continue the fight,
although evidently in the wrong: this should not be; if wrong, let
go; but if right, go ahead. Nevertheless be careful not to use your
headax indiscriminately. The best thing to do is to keep it out of the
way, lest you do rashly what you would have to repent of afterwards.
[628] Indeed, you might kill or injure one of your friends and in this way
start a series of blood feuds. Remember that the right remains on
your side only as long as no blood flows; but when killing or wound-
ing results from your quarrel, the offended party gets the right on
its side and will not fail to revenge the offense, and with reason."

578 Last year *Kaddw's* son divorced one of his wives, a relative of
558 *Pa-rdy*, the "presidente" or mayor of Tawit. The woman married
556 another man, and her parents failed to give back to *Kaddw* all the
articles given them at the time of her first marriage; a few of them
627 were kept: hence a terrible quarrel. *Pa-rdy* and *Kaddw*, both in-
fluential among their people, met at Kabugaw at the invitation of the
lieutenant-governor. For days the square resounded with the shouts
of *Kaddw*, who being perhaps the richer and certainly the older of
the two, hoped to gain the victory by showing the greatest daring.
He even went so far as to challenge the other party to wage war for
a year in order to see in whose favor the dispute would be settled.
Pa-rdy, however, kept to his rights, he did not move an inch from
his evidently strong position, and after several days of angry words
and much ostentation of bravery on both sides, the quarrel was finally
settled by the lieutenant-governor himself in favor of *Pa-rdy*.

Kaddw at the time made himself ridiculous all over the district
for trying to defend a cause that was lost from the beginning. Never-
theless very few would have dared to tell him so to his face: *Kaddw*
is very much feared, he is a rich man, and the whims of such people
should not be openly ridiculed; but everybody was more than con-
578 vinced that *Kaddw's* behavior was not what it should be. He clearly
558 offended against the recognized Isneg code, and *Pa-rdy*, besides getting
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his rights, won the sympathy of every unbiased Isneg. He kept up the quarrel and finished it with a complete victory. If no constabulary soldiers had been in the province, the result would evidently not have been as bloodless as that, and a series of interminable feuds would have been the inevitable result. Right and wrong would gradually have been forgotten, and nothing would have been left but a series of revenges on both sides following one another in quick succession, revenges that would have come to be considered lawful in the eyes of every Isneg on account of the injuries that would have preceded them.

The above lines were written while I was away from Kabugaw. When on my way back thither, and before reaching the latter place, I heard that during my absence *Kadáw* had killed *Rukkadíd*, a policeman from Baliwanan and the latest husband (he was the third one) of the woman referred to in the previous paragraph. Instead of going straight to Kabugaw, I stopped for a while at Bolo and had a little conversation about the matter with *Kâydbo*, a Bolo brave or *mâsal*. Bolo is in sympathy with Lettuakan, *Kadáw's* place, and *Kâydbo* did not fail to show that he held no brief for Baliwanan, nor for *Pa-rdy* either. At a certain moment the old fellow stopped his diatribe to ask for *Pa-rdy's* title, and a complacent companion told him that *Pa-rdy* was now "presidente". At this juncture *Kâydbo* said: "*Desirénte, kawîl* (president, dung)", which is the most forceful expression of contempt in the mouth of an Isneg.

On the same occasion I purposely referred to *Basílig* of Pansian, who belongs to the *Pa-rdy* faction, saying that I had seen an *andôri* (a special tattoo on the arm of a man who has taken the head of an enemy; this *andôri* may sometimes be tattooed on the arm of one of his children) on the arm of his daughter, which I told *Kâydbo* I supposed to be a proof of the valor of *Basílig*. But *Kâydbo* could not bear to hear any praise of a man who belonged to a faction he despised, and he used a most vulgar expression in denying *Basílig's* rights to such honors: "*Oh nâyá atáwana ya andôrina* (the vulva of his wife is his *andôri*)". This again shows that in the eyes of an Isneg an enemy has no rights, that no consideration is due to him, that he is a complete nonentity, while a friend is to be supported by all means, even though by committing a most flagrant injustice. *Kadáw* is now in jail, but most all Isneg are firmly convinced that ere long he will get out of it, because he is supposed to be the richest man in Apayaw.

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The children are usually afraid of the spirits, who are legion, and some of whom might be called bugaboos of one kind or another, but threats of these beings or of ghosts are never resorted to in order to frighten the youngsters into good conduct, except again in the first two cases just mentioned.

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To the Isneg future life is simply a continuation of the present one, except for a few differentiating details, as living in a silver house and so on. A man, whether good or bad, continues his daily life, like in a dream, at the other side of the tomb, just as if nothing had happened. The difference that exists between the interred body of a good man and that of a bad one, which will be explained in due time, can have only very little influence on the conduct of men here on earth; and besides, there also the question of shame is of paramount importance, no less than among the living, as will be seen later on.

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Consequently practically every article of the socio-moral code gets its sanction from non-religious or natural motives. Shame is the most often resorted to, shame that results from the known violation of any point of the moral code, shame that affects not only the delinquent, but also his parents. "Do not do that lest your parents be shamed" is a phrase very commonly used in order to persuade the child to conduct itself well. The terms "shame (*aliyáw*)", "shameful (*nakal-aliyáw*)", "ashamed (*maliyáw*)", are almost continually on the Isneg's lips; they serve both as an excuse for negligence in complying with one's duties, and as a motive for good behavior. Nothing is more powerful than the fear of being shamed in order to cause an Isneg either to live honorably or to commit a dastardly crime. An Isneg is exceedingly sensitive to shameful and opprobrious epithets; he will do anything to avoid any of them being thrown at his head, and he resents it very much if he is accused undeservedly. Lest he be called a coward, an Isneg will sustain a quarrel indefinitely, whether he be on the right side or not. Shame is the biggest incentive for young people to behave and to keep themselves from indulging in all too flagrant transgressions of the moral code, especially with reference to sex morality. An Isneg child will be taught to be obedient and respectful toward its parents, lest the latter be shamed on account of its unruly conduct. Honesty and truthfulness have to be practised lest a man be branded as a thief or a liar, which are exceedingly opprobrious terms in the mouth of a native. In short, the fear of shame keeps the Isneg on the right path in a thousand instances; and any kind of privation or hardship will be suffered patiently, the

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626 hardest labor will be gladly accepted in order to avoid shame, which
558 to an Isneg seems to be a kind of synthesis of all evils. That is also
578 the reason why ridicule is such a powerful weapon among the Isneg. For fear of ridicule a man will cover himself modestly when appearing in the presence of women, and miscreants will resort to ridicule in order to induce a young man to commit the worst crimes. No Isneg can stand ridicule.

626 Among the Isneg pride and ambition are only second to shame as incentives for being virtuous and conducting oneself honorably; nevertheless they are far from having the same power as shame, and parents will use them in a much smaller degree than the latter motive.
[461] The indolence of the Isneg has considerably lessened the power of ambition and pride as a motive for complying with the tenets of their moral code.

And so also praise and encouragement, although they rarely fail to help an Isneg youngster onward on the path of duty, are much less powerful than the all-feared ridicule. Isneg parents, however, are very well aware of the fact that a little occasional praise and a timely word of encouragement will rarely fail to be appreciated by the child, and that they will often do very much for the latter's betterment or the continuance of its right behavior.

Flattery is not so much in their line, and it is comparatively rarely resorted to in order to make a young man or woman behave decently. In the case of smaller children, however, it will often be used with the best of results.

The hope of a reward is not always as powerful as the fear of punishment, at least in the case of the little ones. But allow me to reserve the treatment of this subject for one of the following paragraphs.

3. Methods of Training

361 I shall not enter here into a large number of details with reference
867 to the methods used in the training of children, as very much has been said already in my lengthy treatment of the moral code. I shall
[881] go over the whole matter rather quickly, the more so as there is no question of initiation or puberty rites among the Isneg.

[602] Although elders, whosoever they be, may occasionally take a hand in the training of children, nevertheless this task devolves principally on the parents, and to a certain extent also on the grandparents. The tribe or community as such has little or nothing to do with the moral upbringing of the younger members of any given settlement.

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867 Loyalty to friends and generosity are also made the subject of special teaching on the part of Isneg parents. Occasions do not fail in which the latter explain to their offspring the ugliness of avariciousness and of lack of open-handedness.

867 576 Gratitude, however, is rarely mentioned. Does an Isneg perhaps consider this virtue as a necessary sequel of one's duty of being loyal to a friend in need? Whatever goes on in their mind, the Isneg are certainly not very demonstrative about it. They seem to take a kindness among friends as a matter of course, and they are perhaps not very far from the truth. I am thoroughly convinced though that gratitude is very well known and also practised among our Isneg, but a white man would sometimes prefer to see or hear a little more about it. I repeat it, the Isneg are over-stingy in their expressions of gratitude, and formulas such as "thank you" and so on are unknown to them.

On the other hand the duty of hospitality is very expressly taught to every Isneg boy and girl, and the consequences that are liable to result from lack of hospitality on the part of an Isneg married woman are known to everybody: such a misdemeanor may be a sufficient reason for an Isneg husband to divorce his wife.

867 577 558 To take revenge and to sustain a quarrel are signs of courage in the eyes of an Isneg, and the latter virtue is esteemed and highly praised by all. In his eyes nobody deserves more ridicule than a coward, and such a person usually gets an ample share of the same. Although quarreling and anger as such are considered as bad, everything depends on the reason why, so that rightful anger and maintaining one's rights despite everything are absolutely required in a man who does not want to be called timid. Control of one's temper in many instances would be synonymous with cowardice. All this is so firmly ingrained in the Isneg mind that no formal teaching is necessary. A youngster will ever be applauded for his courage and will be encouraged to go ahead, if he takes revenge after having sustained some injury, if he leaves nothing undone to keep the right on his side while engaged in a dispute, and if he is angry without going into extremes any time that he is firmly convinced that he is not wrong.

867 577 Laziness does not need any special reproof, as every young man and every girl know through daily experience the necessity of forestalling any bad reputation on the subject, lest marriage be either postponed indefinitely or, if already contracted, broken asunder without mercy. With reference to the smaller children, the necessity of